UNITED
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10 January 1990

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Forty-fifth session

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Letter dated 5 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Canada today has made a payment of $24,467,854 into the United Nations General Fund deposit account. This represents Canada's contribution for 1990 to the United Nations regular budget and the adjustment of the advance to the Working Capital Fund for the biennium 1990-1991.

Canada is pleased once again to make its payment during the first week of the year and thereby to demonstrate a concrete commitment to its belief that all Member States have an obligation under the Charter to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time.

The Government of Canada wishes also on this occasion to reaffirm its support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to ensure a durable, reliable and lasting financial foundation for the United Nations. It endorses his appeal for Member States to intensify their efforts to arrange for the payment of their assessed contributions as early in 1990 as possible.

I would request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.

(Signed) L. Yves FORTIER, O.C., Q.C.
Ambassador and
Permanent Representative

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THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES
BETWEEN STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 15 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Further to my letter dated 2 November 1989 (A/44/703-S/20938), I have the honour to report to you the following incident of violation of Pakistan territory from the Afghanistan side, which occurred on 10 January 1990:

"On 10 January 1990 at 1340 hours, the Kabul régime forces fired a Scud missile which landed in Hisar village, District Attock, approximately six kilometres from Wah. No loss of life was reported. The impact of the Scud, however, caused minor damages to the nearby houses."

The Afghan Chargé d'affaires was summoned to the Foreign Office on the morning of 14 January 1990 and a strong protest was lodged with him over this dastardly act. The Kabul Chargé d'affaires was told that the responsibility for any serious consequences arising from such an attack would rest entirely on the Kabul régime and that the Government of Pakistan would take all necessary measures to defend the lives and properties of its citizens.

The Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan was also called to the Foreign Office on 12 January 1990 and the grave concern of the Government of Pakistan was conveyed to him about the Scud incident. The Ambassador was requested to ask his Government to use its good offices and influence in Kabul to counsel restraint by the Kabul régime.

The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan visited the site of the Scud at our request and carried out its investigations into the incident.

I request Your Excellency to have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under the items entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security", "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" and "Peaceful settlement of disputes between States", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nasim AHMED
Ambassador and Permanent Representative

READEX
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15 January 1990
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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-fifth session
THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 15 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information a note by H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk dated 10 January 1990.

I should be very grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

NOTE BY H.R.H. SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK

Beijing, 10 January 1990

It appears that soon a meeting of special envoys of the "big 5" (USA, USSR, PRC, GB (UK), France), will be held in Paris with the aim of finding a fair solution to the "problem of Cambodia".

In this present "note", allow me to give some indications on the respective positions of the 4 Cambodian factions with regard to the question of a possible setting up of a "United Nations Trusteeship" in Cambodia.

*
* *

I. Position of Norodom Sihanouk, the FUNCINPEC and the ANS

a/ We agree that the United Nations establishes its "Trusteeship" in Cambodia.

b/ We ask the United Nations to install in Cambodia, for a period of one or two years (that is until the day when general elections, organized by the United Nations for the Cambodian people could be held in satisfactory conditions), its administration at all levels and in every service in Cambodia, replacing the administration of the Hun Sen - Heng Samrin regime known as "State of Cambodia", and also replacing the administration of the Khmer Rouge, Khmer Sihanoukists and Khmer Bleu (KPNLF) in Cambodia's liberated zones.

The maintenance of the illegal "State of Cambodia" of Heng Samrin - Hun Sen and its administration in Cambodia is absolutely unacceptable.

c/ In addition to its administration, the United Nations must have in Cambodia an UN-ICM (United Nations-International Control Mechanism) and an UN-IPKF (United Nations-International Peace Keeping Force)

The UN-ICM and UN-IPKF have the mandate to control the departure of all Vietnamese troops and all illegal Vietnamese immigrants from Cambodia, and also to totally disarm the 4 armed Cambodian factions, to destroy all their weapons and ammunitions, to protect the Cambodian people, and lastly, to organize and supervise the general elections in Cambodia.

After these elections, the UN-ICM and UN-IPKF should remain in Cambodia for 5 years (10 years if need be) so as to prevent the Khmer Rouge and others from breaking peace and sovereignty of the Cambodian people, and to allow the reconstruction of Cambodia.

/...

d/ The seat of Cambodia at the United Nations should not be vacated without the prior and simultaneous dismantling of the CGDK-DK and the illegal "State of Cambodia" of Hun Sen.

* * *

II. The Khmer Rouge (DKP-NADK) abides by the CGDK's 5-point Plan. Particularly they (Khmer Rouge) ask for the formation of a Cambodian quadripartite government (a provisional government).

The FUNCINPEC-ANS and the KPNLF also support that "5-point Plan".

* * *

III. The position of the KPNLF on the question of the UN "Trusteeship" for Cambodia will soon be made known.

I hope that it will not be different from that of the FUNCINPEC-ANS.

* * *

IV. The position of Hun Sen and his group is known.

Hun Sen and his group are against the CGDK 5-point Plan, against the disarming of their army, against the dismantling of their government and administration and against the inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in the "peace process".

Such a (arrogant, selfish, foolish and war-monger) position blocks and will block all roads to a peaceful settlement of the "problem of Cambodia". It can only make the war in Cambodia last and intensify.

* * *

END OF THE NOTE

Norodom Sihanouk, the FUNCINPEC and ANS wish to draw the high attention **of France**, the United Kingdom, USA, People's Republic of China, USSR, **Australia**, ASEAN, United Nations, etc ... to the following:

Any attempt by any foreign power to distabilize the DK-CGDK at the United Nations without the prior dismantling of the illegal "State of Cambodia" of Hun Sen, creation and creature of red and colonialist Vietnam, and any attempt to legitimize at the "State" level, the regime of "Quislings" in Phnom Penh will lead only to render the solution of the problem of Cambodia impossible and to intensify and prolong indefinitely the war in Cambodia.

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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 15 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information a declaration by H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk dated 3 January 1990.

I should be very grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

DECLARATION BY
H.R.H. SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK

- Beijing, 3 January 1990 -

Since the failure of the PICC (Paris International Conference on Cambodia), an increasing number of French, American and Australian, etc. newspapers and journalists have chosen to systematically attack Norodom Sihanouk by slandering him, discrediting him, dragging him through the mud and holding him responsible for Cambodia and Cambodian people's all wrong-doings.

Among the numerous accusations those newspapers and journalists have made against me, it is fitting to mention once again this one: "Sihanouk, by personal ambition, makes it impossible for Cambodia and the Cambodian people to recover peace. Sihanouk becomes the accomplice of the Khmer Rouge Polpotists by chosing the continuation of the destruction war against Cambodia and the genocidal (or extermination) war against the Cambodian people."

* * *

I must, once again, reply to this extremely unjust accusation of my scorners:

a) If I thought only about my personal interests, I would have accepted an offer of Mr. Hun Sen, Phnom Penh Prime Minister, who was ready to give me the post of "Head of State of Cambodia" with the Royal Palace as my Residence.

Furthermore, let's suppose I have personal ambition (--and I don't have any--), how could I be so foolish and stupid to associate myself with the Khmer Rouge Polpotists in "the struggle for Power"?

I am not more ignorant than my scorners. I know the Khmer Rouge Polpotists at least as "well" as they do. And I am fully aware that if the Khmer Rouge Polpotists won the final victory in their war against the Vietnamese and the Hun Sen group, these victorious Khmer Rouge would not

/...

fail to consider me as their most dangerous Enemy and, consequently, to "neutralize" me and, afterwards, to get rid of me.

The western journalists have the right to hate me, however they have no right to consider me as a person devoid of any sense of patriotism and intelligence. The struggle that I have been carrying out is a national liberation struggle. In this mandatory struggle I have nothing to gain, -- quite on the contrary.

b) The whole world has witnessed the constructive and very workable proposals that I have put forward for a political and peaceful settlement of the so-called "problem of Kampuchea".

Those proposals are known to all. I do not need to hark back to them.

Allow me to speak here only about the measures proposed by Sihanouk and approved by the Khmer Rouge themseves and by their great "sponsor", the P.R. of China, measures conceived with a view to preventing effectively the Khmer Rouge from retaking power by force: dispatch to Cambodia of a large and powerful United Nations Peace Keeping Force and a UN-ICM, enough equipped, to "act as policemen" in Cambodia for five or even ten years; general disarmament of all Cambodian factions and total destruction of their arms and ammunitions by the UN-IPKF and UN-ICM.

* * *

c) With regard to the vacancy of the seat of Cambodia at the United Nations, I must stress the fact that my scorners have distorted and continue to distort outrageously my position.

I specify that I am "for" and not "against" the vacancy of the seat of Cambodia at the United Nations, on the condition that every body agrees with the simultaneous dismantling of the UN-CGDK (DK) and the illegal "State of Cambodia" of Hun Sen and with their replacement by the UN trusteeship.

But, this idea of placing Cambodia under the UN trusteeship is accepted neither by the Khmer Rouge nor by the P.R. of China, whereas the Hun Sen regime is content with deceiving the world public opinion by, on the one hand, pretending to be favourable with that idea, and on the other hand, maintaining the Hun Sen administration during the UN trusteeship in Cambodia!

* * *

With regard to a possible UN trusteeship in Cambodia, my position is without any ambiguity; it is simple and logical: For me, to place Cambodia under the UN Trusteeship means that the two Cambodian regimes and administrations existing currently in Cambodia must be disappeared from the Cambodian territory and that until the results of general elections (organized and supervised by the UN) are known and confirmed; that is to dismantle

both and at the same time the DK-CGDK and "the State of Cambodia" and to replace their administrations and armies by the UN administration and army.

*
* *

Of course, if the Cambodian people, in their majority, give, through general elections organized by the UN, victory to the Party of Heng Samrin-Hun Sen, that Party would be in a position, in full legality (this time), to establish a marxist-leninist-hochiminhien, communist pro-SRV and pro-USSR regime in Cambodia, and a red army, since the Cambodian people, through their votes, would so decide.

It is not Sihanouk who will contest the results of those elections (that is elections organized by the UN and outside the framework of the "State" or "administration" of Heng Samrin-Hun Sen.)

*
* *

In conclusion, it is essential to ask the following 2 questions and to answer them with all intellectual honesty:

Question 1: Who is responsible for the continuation of the war in Cambodia?

To this question, my scorners have already answered: "It is Sihanouk!"

What these westerners want is very simple: Cambodia must be a satellite and colony of Vietnam. The Cambodian patriots who dare to struggle against the Vietnamese colonialism in Cambodia are war criminals and traitors of the Cambodian people.

But the answer of the Cambodian patriots to this Question 1 is more correct. It is the Hun Sen regime which has rejected and rejects all political, peaceful, reasonable and democratic solutions to "the problem." The Hun Sen regime leaves only one choice: the continuation of the war.

Question 2: "Who prevents the Khmer Rouge from accepting the peace in Cambodia?"

Answer: By rejecting all ideas of participation, on an equal footing with the other Cambodian movements, of the Khmer Rouges in the peace process, and by refusing to let the UN disarm all the Cambodian factions, the SRV, the Hun Sen regime and all their western supporters and others have placed the Khmer Rouge in an obligation to continue indefinitely the war.

/...

And if, one day, the Khmer Rouge win this war and retake power in Cambodia, the responsibility will then rest with the SRV, the Hun Sen regime and with their western supporters(*) and others.

Beijing, 3 January 1990

(*) It must be noted that these westerners refuse absolutely to be interested in the idea of general disarmament of Cambodian factions. What they want is to maintain and strengthen the Hun Sen army and administration and to force the ANS (Sihanoukists) to commit "suicide." Can such a policy contribute to bringing us to a settlement of "the problem"??

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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURTIY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 15 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Cambodian National Resistance under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information a videotape, 1/ a transcript of that videotape, and pictures of some Vietnamese soldiers disguised as soldiers of the army of the Phnom Penh puppet régime and captured by the Cambodian National Resistance at Bar Lang (Battambang province) on 2 November 1989; that is, more than one month after the so-called "total withdrawal" of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia.

I should be very grateful if Your Excellency would be so kind enough as to distribute this letter, the transcript and the videotape, and the pictures of the disguised Vietnamese soldiers as an official document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

Notes

1/ A copy of the videotape was received by the Secretary-General and may be consulted at the Reference and Bibliography Section of the Dag Hammarskjöld Library, room L-211.

ANNEX

EVIDENCES OF THE VIETNAMESE DISGUISED TROOPS

CAPTURED BY THE CAMBODIAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE FORCES AT BAR LANG, SAMLAUT DISTRICT, BATTAMBANG PROVINCE ON 2 NOVEMBER 1989

The following pictures are of the Vietnamese soldiers of Division 330, captured by the Cambodian National Resistance forces on 2 November 1989, that is one month after Vietnam's claim of total troop withdrawal. They were captured at Bar Lang in Samlaut district, province of Battambang. Bar Lang is about 12kms from the Cambodian-Thai border.

The Vietnamese have tried, after the fall of the strategic town of Pailin on 22 October 1989 and the district seat of Samlaut on 27 October, to launch a pince-movement from Treng and Road 10 in order to recapture Pailin.

But the Cambodian National Resistance forces have successively thwarted their attempts.

The Vietnamese soldiers captured at Bar Lang were hidden there waiting for the bulk of the Vietnamese troops.

During the month of November alone, more than 7,000 Vietnamese fresh troops were sent from Vietnam to Battambang and Road 10.

All this clearly prove what H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK has said that the war in Cambodia is not a civil war. It is a war between the Cambodian National Resistance and the Vietnamese occupiers. H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK has also pointed out that the Vietnamese still maintain a large number of forces inside Cambodia, disguised as puppet troops or concealed in the forest.

/...

The following is the information provided by the captured Vietnamese disguised troops:

I. - My name is Tran Van Binh.
- I am 30 years old.
- I was born at Thoo Thyen district in Long An province.
- My father's name is Tran Van Hung and my mother's name is Nguyen Thi Bang.They are farmers.
- I was enlisted on 4 April 1989.
- I was sent to Division 868.
- I had been training at Dong Tam military school for 3 months.
- I have learned to use AK rifle.
- I was sent to Cambodia on 2 August 1989 through Highway 1.
- I came with other soldiers in 4 trucks.
- After arriving in Battambang, I was assigned to Regiment 3 of Division 330.
- My unit stationed at Bar Lang.
- I was captured by the Cambodian Resistance on 2 November 1989.

II. - My name is Phan Van Bay.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

III. - My name is Nguyen Duong Hai.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

IV. - My name is Nguyen Van Ut.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

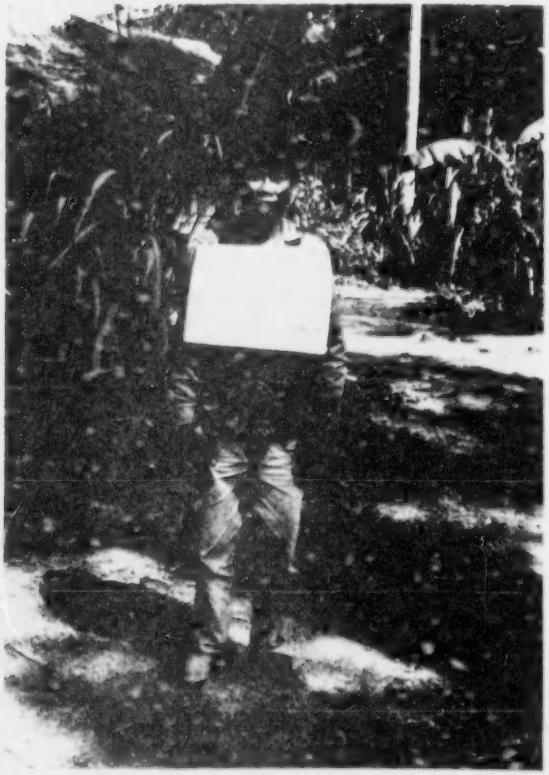
V. - My name is Nguyen Tan Buu.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

VI. - My name is Do Van Thanh.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

VII. - My name is Le Van Hiep.
- I was captured at Bar Lang on 2 November 1989.

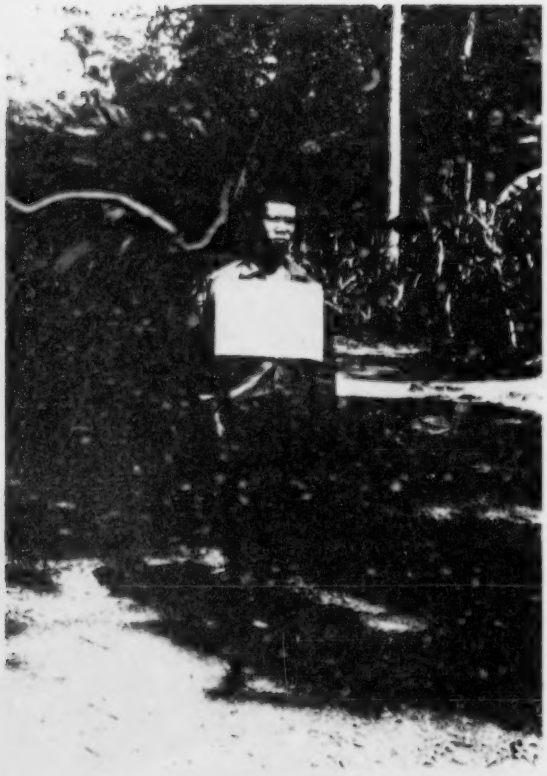
PICTURES OF SOME VIETNAMESE DISGUISED TROOPS
CAPTURED BY THE CAMBODIAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE FORCES
ON 2 NOVEMBER 1989 AT BAR LANG, SAMLAUT DISTRICT
BATTAMBANG PROVINCE

Name: TRAN VAN BINH
Age : 30 years old
Regiment 3
Vietnamese army Division 330



Name: PHAN VAN BAY
Age : 25 years old
Vietnamese army Division 330

/...



Name: NGUYEN DUONG HAI
Age : 25 years old
Regiment 3
Vietnamese army Division 330

Name: NGUYEN VAN UT
Age : 34 years old
Regiment 3
Vietnamese army Division 330

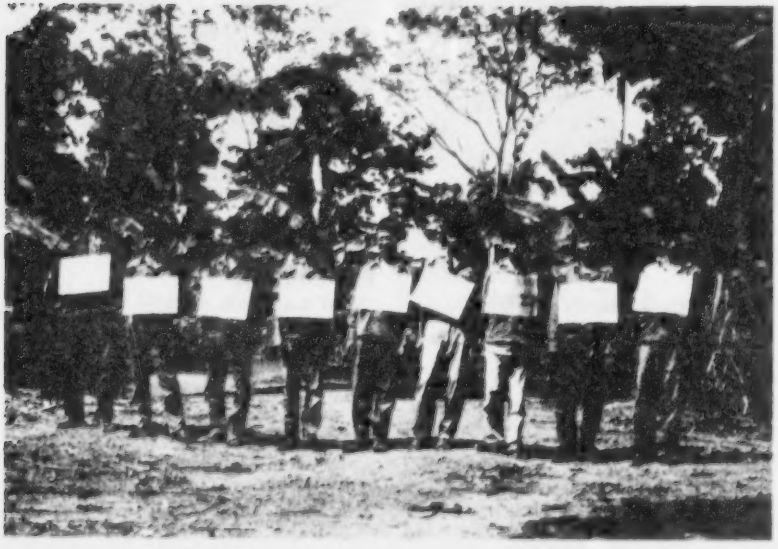
/...

Name: NGUYEN TAN BUU
Age : 28 years old
Regiment 3
Vietnamese army Division 330

Name: DO VON THANH
Age : 24 years old
Battalion 9
Vietnamese army Division 330

/...

Name: LE VAN HIEP
Age : 32 years old
Vietnamese army
Division 330



A group of 9 Vietnamese disguised soldiers captured at Bar Lang, Battambang province, on 2 November 1989

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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-fifth year

Letter dated 16 January 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the open letter dated 14 January 1990 from H.R.H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to the Powers of the free world whose Governments are prepared to "Drop Sihanouk and the CGDK" and to "Embrace" the (Phnom Penh) Hun Sen régime.

I should be very grateful if you would have the text of the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

OPEN LETTER OF H.R.H. SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK

TO THE POWERS OF THE FREE WORLD WHOSE GOVERNMENTS ARE PREPARED TO "DROP SIHANOUK AND THE CGDK" AND TO "EMBRACE" THE (PHNOM PENH) HUN SEN REGIME

- January 14, 1990 -

I. You are sovereign States. As such, Your "Cambodian policy" depends only on yourselves. You can modify or change it completely at Your will. I do not have to interfere in Your affairs even if they are directly connected with my Motherland and the fate of my people.

I respect Your sovereignty.

However, today, I would like to draw Your high attention to some particularly important aspects of the so-called "problem of Kampuchea."

* * *

II. If the Hun Sen-Heng Samrin regime is maintained for a long time in Cambodia, the latter (Cambodia) will become, de facto, not only a satellite (--she is already--) of the S.R. of Vietnam and the USSR, but also, which is more serious and even mortal for her (Cambodia), a colony of Vietnam, in particular with regard to the settlement, and the unlimited exploitation, the catastrophic pillage of natural resources of the colonized country.

You confine the "problem of Cambodia" to the sole question of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from my country.

You rule, without any serious verification, that "all Vietnamese troops have already left Cambodia and gone definitively back to Vietnam."

In view of the information I have, I cannot follow You when You proclaim that the problem of the military occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam is already completely settled.

But here I do not want to linger over this aspect of the "Cambodian problem."

/...

I would like You to look into the far more serious problem, both for Cambodia and the Cambodian people, of the physical Vietnamization and extensive pillage of the natural resources of Cambodia by the "Hanoi" Government with the full consent of the Hun Sen-Heng Samrin regime.

In this respect, please do have the courage to ask the Khmer military, diplomats, civil servants, intellectuals and students of the Hun Sen-Heng Samrin regime, who have been able to desert this regime and take refuge in several countries of the Free World.

Those "defectors" will tell You very clearly the following:

a/- The Hun Sen-Heng Samrin group is thoroughbred Khmer Rouge; this group is as bad as the Pol Pot group; the two Khmer Rouge factions (Hun Sen's and Pol Pot's) differ only on the question of their dependence: The Polpotians depend on the P.R. of China and the Hun Senians depend on the USSR and, in particular, on the S.R. of Vietnam.

b/- The Hun Sen regime (just like Lon Nol's from 1970-1975) breaks all the records in corruption, and the so-called "socio-economic progress" benefit only the leaders' families and the upper social classes and not the real Cambodian people.

c/- The Hun Sen regime constantly and seriously violates human rights.

d/- The Hun Sen regime is absolutely not independent. It is at the "Hanoi" Government's beck and call. In all the ministries, services and administration of the Hun Sen regime, it is the Vietnamese "advisers" who act as masters and control those ministries, services and administration. And it is "Hanoi" who controls the internal and external policy of the Hun Sen regime.

e/- Inside Cambodia now there are more than one million Vietnamese settlers, illegal immigrants, who have come from Vietnam to colonize physically the Cambodians' lands and exploit Cambodia's natural resources (precious stones, forests, rubber, grains, fruit, fish, etc...)

At the present time, Cambodian coastal islands are filled up with Vietnamese fishermen, just as in the regions of the (Tonle Sap) "Great Lake", the Mekong and Bassac rivers. Several hundreds of formerly Khmer villages are today peopled with Vietnamese men and women, and they are given Vietnamese names. The same thing happens to some formerly Khmer boroughs and small towns near Vietnam's borders. In some places, Cambodia's borders have been modified for the benefit of Vietnam.

In the cultural field, the Vietnamization (especially in the linguistic field) is proceeding at full speed. Cambodians (Khmers) who do not speak and write Vietnamese fluently are outrageously discriminated (in obtaining diplomas or jobs, in administrative promotion) vis-à-vis those who speak and write brilliantly Vietnamese.

/...

Therefore, in a few decades, Cambodia will be peopled with a majority of Vietnamese and the Khmers [just as in Kampuchea Krom (Lower Cambodia) which had become South-Vietnam since the "colonial" French came to Cochinchina in 1860] will become an ethnic minority in their own Motherland, who will also see her territory lessened in size due to the modifications of her land and sea borders for the benefit of Vietnam.

* * *

III. You want to "trade" with the Hun Sen regime.

And that is why a growing number of Your companies (banking, trade, industry, exploitation and plantation, etc...) have settled or get ready to settle in Cambodia.

This is not shocking at all.

However, I wish to draw Your high attention to some (very serious) dangers Cambodia (as far as her future is concerned) would face if Your companies were to conduct some activities, such as the extensive cutting of trees in Cambodian forests (cutting of trees no to be followed by mandatory, extensive and systematic reafforestation), the intensive exploitation of piscicultural resources in our lakes, rivers and sea, and the trade of antique objets d'art (from Angkor, etc...)

The Hun Sen regime allows the destruction of Cambodia's forests. That destruction which is going on at an accelerated rate has already brought about (great) changes in rainfall condition, in the growing imbalance between positive and negative elements of ecology in Cambodia, in the progressive and irreversible desertification of Cambodia, once an exporter of grains, fish, fruit and livestock, today an importer of food and a mendicant of humanitarian aids and "tomorrow" an arid and unproductive country, not being able anymore to survive by herself.

* * *

IV. You want to eliminate the Khmer Rouge. Good!

But even Your de facto or de jure recognition of the (Phnom Penh) Hun Sen regime will not be enough (quite the contrary!) to have the Khmer Rouge danger disappeared.

Such a recognition would only exacerbate the passions which divide politically and ideologically the Khmers.

In the military field, this would incite the Khmer Rouge to fight even more fiercely against the Phnom Penh regime. The non-communist and non-Khmer Rouge resistants too would be compelled to raise several "notches" in their combativeness against Vietnamese colonialism (represented by the Hun Sen regime.)

the "Cambodian problem", would be tantamount to adding fuel to a fire which is going to destroy not only the Khmer country and nation, but also the Hun Sen regime, Your "darling" whose survival You want to secure at all costs.

You claim that You know how to love the Cambodian people more than I do.

Nevertheless, it is my family and myself who have (terribly) suffered and who have been humiliated to the highest extent under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary rule. During the Pol Pot rule, You did nothing to rescue my people. Some of You had even given their de jure recognition to the Pol Pot regime.

If I told You that I love Your peoples more than You do, You would be fully right not to believe me, to make fun of me and to denounce my "hypocrisy."

I would not permit myself to cast doubts on the sincerity of Your sentiments of mercy and compassion for the Khmer people. But what I do not accept is that You cast doubts on my patriotism and my love for the Khmer people.

You have never been the victims of the Polpotian Khmer Rouge. My family is one of the victims of these Polpotians. Consequently, more than yourselves, I have reasons to hate these Khmer Rouge.

But Cambodian realities are such that the "Khmer Rouge problem", instead of being resolved by means of strengthening the Hun Sen regime in the international field, would become even more unsolvable and more bloody and tragical with the arbitrary "legalization", through Your care, of the Hun Sen regime.

*
* *

For at least 90 per cent of the Cambodians, men and women, inside and outside Cambodia, the "legalization" through Your care of the Hun Sen pro-Vietnamese regime will mean that You cynically sacrifice Cambodia on the altar of Vietnamese colonialism, of the Vietnamization of Cambodia and the long term integration (as was the case of Kampuchea Krom in the 19th century), of today's Cambodia into Greater Vietnam, which had always been the dreams of Vietnamese emperors and, after them, HO CHI MINH.

Consequently, Your idea of "legalization" of the Hun Sen regime, if implemented, will only give prestige to the Khmer Rouge (who will appear as being the greatest and most effective champions of the nationalist struggle of the Khmers against the multiform process of Vietnamization of Cambodia.) And it will only further reinforce the union of Khmer patriots and the unity of the CNR.

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I have mentioned "Cambodian realities." Among the realities You ignore or You refuse to "see", there is the following:

The ascendancy of the Khmer Rouge over the "countryside" ("Cambodia's heartland," that of the peasants) has greatly been increasing these past months (in the military, geographical, ideological, political and even administrative fields) and, concurrently, the infrastructure of the Hun Sen administration, Party apparatus and army has been disintegrating and collapsing in an increasing number of places, outside the big cities which (including Phnom Penh, the capital) are not anymore sheltered from the attacks and acts of terrorism or sabotage of the Khmer Rouge who, in this connection, are helped by accomplices and even by "supporters" among townspeople and even by the people working in the Hun Sen administration, police and army.

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You would excuse me for having to say this to You: Your reasoning on the Khmer Rouge is simplistic. You believe, wrongly, that the Khmer Rouge are rejected by the entire Khmer people and You are convinced that those Khmer Rouge rule over such or such districts or provinces of Cambodia through terror and their "policy of genocide."

The reality does not correspond to this too simple picture You have of the Khmer Rouge, in the midst of the Khmer people.

I (Sihanouk) am among those Khmers who most ardently wish the fading away of the Khmer Rouge from my unfortunate country, but I wish as ardently as much to be able to remove forever the danger of Vietnamese expansionism and colonialism from Cambodia.

To come back to the Khmer Rouge, it is useless to conceal the following reality:

Indeed, the great majority of the Khmers fear, hate and reject the Khmer Rouge. But there is quite a number of Khmers (Cambodians, men and women) who adopt, help and support the Khmer Rouge, and endorse their ultra-nationalist and proletarian ideology.

The Khmer Rouge army comprise 40,000 purely Khmer combatants, who are not only formidably equipped in terms of fighting materials, but who are especially highly motivated in their ideology and, -why not to recognize it?- their patriotism.

In an article published in August 1989 the great French newspaper "Le Figaro" said that in their 10-year-old war in Cambodia against the Khmer Rouge, the troops of the great Vietnamese army lost 50,000 combatants, were defeated and lost face (sic).

In the face of this reality, what measure are You going to take in order to eliminate the Khmer Rouge army?

The August 1989 issue of "Le Figaro" wrote the following in connection with the great Vietnamese army in Cambodia: "They (the Viets) had dreamed of conquering Cambodia. They have lost face (-that is the war-)."

Where are Your international brigades whose task, taking the place of defeated Vietnamese troops, is to make war against the Khmer Rouge?

Who prevents You from setting up these international brigades and from sending them as soon as possible to Cambodia in order to "bludgeon" the Polpotians.

* * *

It is easy to wage war against the Khmer Rouge in Your speeches and in the columns of Your newspapers, by at the same time rejecting the realistic and reasonable proposals I have submitted to You in order to put an end to the war in Cambodia and to enable the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination.

But by "legitimating" the Hun Sen regime in Phnom Penh, a creation and a creature of the S.R. of Vietnam, You will only gag the Cambodian people, while it is this people, and they alone, who are the owner of Cambodia and not Hun Sen or anyone else.

* * *

What "gains" are You going to have with Your multiform policy of support to the Hun Sen regime?

In Hun Sen's Cambodia, Your trade, industry, exploitation, plantation enterprises, etc... will not thrive for long because the war, instead of slowing down, will have spread more and more all over the Khmer territory; and this will be Your fault because, instead of giving a realistic, logical and reasonable solution to the "Cambodian problem", You prefer to allow Yourselves to be guided by passional, partisan and, in some cases, mercantile considerations.

* * *

You are aware that more than 90 per cent of the Cambodians, men and women, do not admit communism in Cambodia; not even "liberal Hun Senian" communism.

At a time when in Romania the Communist Party is outlawed; at a time when many other countries of Eastern Europe vigorously turn their backs to communism and break away from the USSR, You do not hesitate to embrace the Communist, marxist-leninist, hochiminhian and pro-Soviet regime of Hun Sen, Heng Samrin and Chea Sim.

And it is in the name of Human Rights and the ideals of the Free World that You will consolidate Vietminhian communism in a Cambodia, profoundly nationalist, thoroughly anti-communist and "viscerally" neutralist. You will force Cambodia to stay in the Soviet bloc at a time when, in Europe, this bloc is disintegrating. And You will have contributed to make today's Cambodia a second Kampuchea Krom

In this respect, I can assure You that Cambodian patriots, men and women, will not be grateful to You.

And this is my conclusion and the end of my open letter addressed to You.

Please accept my respects.